The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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Are Political Campaigns Pernicious?

THE HATCH BILL, "to prevent pernicious political activities," has two main purposes. It is designed to prevent exploitation by politicians for election purposes of people on relief and it is intended to prohibit subordinate federal officials (of whom there are thousands) from taking ". . . an active part in political management or in political campaigns." This group of officers, however, ". . . shall retain the right to vote as they may choose and to express their opinions on all political subjects." Penalty for campaigning is removal from federal office. With the first objective no one will quarrel. The second is of another kidney. Speaking in a practical vein, what fundamental distinction is there between expression of one's political opinion which is permissible) and active participation in a political campaign, which is not? Laws entailing severe penalties should not prohibit and permit the same objective processes. To express one's political opinions to a considerable public is to take an active part in a political campaign provided a campaign happens to be under way when such opinion is expressed.

The Hatch Bill

From a theoretic standpoint the Bill is bad. It proceeds on the assumption that thousands of men of distinction and probity should be canceled out of active political life. It is implied by the text of the Bill that these men are essentially motivated by the lowest, coarsest and most self-regarding attitudes. For this implication there is not a shadow of proof. Concerning the Congressional motive in passing the Bill, it is generally understood that it rises no higher than principles of self-preservation. Some New Deal leaders have not hesitated to appeal to the people for defeat of Congressmen who have rejected the New Deal. Why should not such an appeal be made? New Dealers, active in the political life of the nation, should certainly be in a position effectively to praise or condemn on a basis of knowledge. People who have knowledge are indispensable in making a democracy work. Congressmen angered by the miscalled "purge" of 1938 are thinking of their own hides and not the needs of the people when they legislate out of action *anybody* with knowledge and ostensible honesty of purpose. In short, in a political sense Section 9 of the Bill (which deals with the second of the Bill's two objectives) is unintelligible and unworkable, while theoretically it is nothing but the very kind of self-regarding political manipulation which it is supposed to condemn.

Committee Finds New Lands for Colonization

ALTHOUGH the great mass of the American public soon forgets occasional press dispatches about persecution in Germany and the spectacle of unwelcome refugee ships, it is heartening to be reminded that the international committee under Myron Taylor is still hard at work. For the human problem is still there. If anything it has become intensified in recent months. Some 150,000 people are now said to be exiled from "Greater Germany" with 850,000 German exiles as a possible prospect. There are several hopeful signs. One is the setting up of a Coordinating Foundation well supplied with funds; another is the offer of the British Government to match private contributions for refugees if other governments will do the same; a third is the proposed White House conference for early in September. The International Committee believes it can find new homes in sparsely settled portions of the earth for 400,000 victims of persecution. The latest reports mention such distant havens as Northern Rhodesia, the Philippines, British and Dutch Guiana and the Dominican Republic—land where European refugees

More Hope for the Refugees

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will really be beginning their lives all over again. Canada reports that refugee capital and refugee skills are largely responsible for recent economic gains there; in view of this, what objection can there be if the United States should take a larger share of responsibility than heretofore?

Sink or Swim Relief

TO FOLLOW the law, about 650,000 relief workers have to be dismissed by September 1. Those remaining on WPA will be working under new conditions: for a definitely limited period, paid from different sources, at the new "security" wage rates, on smaller projects. Work relief will still less resemble the kind of productive work which used to be associated with private enterprise in the United States. The problems inherent in the new policy against which the AFL has struck, the Workers Alliance demonstrated, the mayors of the country protested, and about which social workers have trembled, apparently gives the country in general small concern. The alternatives are an unlooked for pick-up in business or desperation. This is about as brave a deflationary experiment as the government has been willing to try. If it seems to succeed, recovery will certainly have been put ahead of reform and the problems of our political economy will remain in condition to come up and beat us down again. If it fails, there will have to be a scramble of still more pressing reform. In either case, the weight of the relief law will bear heaviest on exactly the families with the least strength to uphold it.

The Pink Slips Come

The Far East Boils Over

THINGS in the Far East have a way of coming out unexpectedly. It has long been evident that one of the tightest spots was that occupied by Britain, for her investments there are the largest of any and they depended, in great measure, upon the maintenance of the foreign concession system. When this peculiar device was invented, no one thought of what would happen in case China were invaded by some other power. Japan's attitude until very recently was that the concession system must go; the open door must be closed. Meanwhile, in order to account to her own people for the unreasonable duration of the Chinese "incident," she started a violent anti-British propaganda on the ground that England was prolonging the war by giving help to that wicked "communist" Chiang Kai-shek. As a result, anti-British sentiment among the Japanese has steadily increased, until it looks as though it has got beyond control—which is not a happy state of affairs for the Japanese government; she can bait England, but she cannot afford to drive England into Chiang's arms. That seems to be the explanation of that mysteriously ambiguous formula worked out by the British and Japanese, the publication of which immediately raised cries —of horror from the left, of jubilation from the fascist right—that here was "another Munich." Now it begins to look as though that wasn't the wolf to cry. On the basis of the ambiguous formula, it is reported that the two governments are working out a *modus vivendi* for the continuance of the concession system. Meanwhile Japanese popular feeling against the English continues to boil over into violence. And President Roosevelt, with the knowledge and consent of Downing Street, gives Chiang a present of incalculable political and moral value by announcing the abrogation of our 1911 trade treaty with Japan. That means that in six months we can start a Japanese embargo. This abrogation is said to be the first by our government since the eighteenth century. At present writing it is impossible to estimate its eventual effect, but of two things we can be certain: Western "face" has been given quite a lift in the East and Mr. Roosevelt's prestige has been greatly increased in Europe.

Wheels within Wheels

Which Races Are Inferior?

WITHOUT studying the report advocating immigration restriction to promote race improvement here issued by the State Chamber of Commerce, we are technically barred from giving a definitive opinion on it — though not, of course, from thinking some long, long thoughts. But almost without reference to the report, it is possible to have a definitive opinion upon the criticism of it which has just emanated from the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and been published in outline in the newspapers. It seems to us that the group of scientists and educators, headed by Dr. Franz Boas, who prepared this criticism, have done their professions proud. Race or group prejudice is never so completely scotched among us that we can dispense with words like this: "We view with alarm the rapid spread in our own country of the hysterical cry that the alien or the Jew or the Catholic or some other scapegoat is responsible for all the ills of society. . . . Science teaches that an individual should be judged by his own qualities and not by assigning him to a group because he happens to have a certain head form, a certain form and color of hair, skin and eyes, or certain form of nose." This is followed by a reminder of the fact that anthropology rejects the idea of "inferior" and "superior" races; that history demonstrates all European populations to be "products of unceasing mixtures of peoples"; that the most diverse nations have

Science Says —None

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attained and can attain cultural eminence under favoring conditions; and that apparent group differences are usually "merely different folkways . . . readily transformed"—witness "the great mixture of peoples who have become ideal American citizens" after adequate adjustment. Over words like these the scientist, the democrat and the Christian can clasp hands.

Getting Back Our Small Change

SAMUEL H. KRESS, who successfully took a leaf out of Mr. Woolworth's book and now controls a chain of stores almost as well known as the "Five and Ten," has decided to give his collection of paintings to the National Gallery. With the Mellon and Kress collections alone, the National Gallery will be one of the world's great museums; presumably others will follow the examples of these two men and likewise give treasures of art to the nation. One notable thing about the Kress collection is its single-mindedness. Here is a man who wanted to do a job on Italian painting, and he did it.

Pictures for the Public

It is also notable that the news stories of this gift should again emphasize something which seems, in the popular mind, to be almost the only criterion of art—the monetary "value" of the paintings in the collection. There is surely almost no more metaphysical thing than the value of a painting in dollars and cents. For a few decades a given value may have some reality, but even that is not certain. If it were not fashionable for rich men to pay big prices for certain painters' work, the whole structure of monetary value in the fine arts would collapse. Within the memory of living persons, people of modest means could collect pictures, and good pictures at that; today it is a game for the Titans. Tomorrow the Titans may get sick of it, and Rembrandts will sell once again for a few hundred dollars. Yet surely in all this process, the true value, the significance and beauty of the pictures in the case do not change.

Mass Marriage in Canada

THE PRESS has given us picturesque accounts of the simultaneous marriage of 105 couples in Montreal's baseball stadium before 20,000 spectators and with Archbishop Gauthier officiating. We are told that the mass ceremony was arranged by Canadian "Jocists" in order to offset "the unfavorable publicity marriage is getting from the world's divorce courts." Of course, a successful Christian marriage, modeled after that of the Holy Family, is much more than a spectacular initial ceremony. Far more interesting is the fact that the hundred-odd couples have followed for a full year courses in moral principles, economics and medicine, and that there will be a check-up every three months for the next five years on the better or worse experiences of the spouses with the aim of helping them through difficulties and studying the factors responsible for notable accomplishments. Time was in our Western world when proper ideals of Christian wedlock were acquired as connaturally as one's mother tongue. But then the dominant tone in society was Christian. Now with pagan forces all about us, such matters cannot be left to chance. Birth control and divorce are the commonly urged cure-alls for marital tribulations. True enough French Canada is less infected by these evils than most other countries of the world. But the Jocists are taking no chances. It is hoped that their system will be widely imitated. We might not want to go so far as to hire Yankee Stadium for an outdoor ceremony next June, but organized preparation for marriage and systematic check-up would be salutary innovations.

Jocists Take a Hand

The Young People Take Over

A REVERSAL of the very general tendency to see the worst in the goings-on of the young is found in the report made by the Henry Street Settlement, in a section on New York's "cellar clubs." There are estimated to be perhaps 5,000 of these in the poorer parts of the city, with a membership of perhaps 150,000, from 16 to 30 or more years old. So much has been said of the deleterious effect of the underprivileged thus getting together in cheap basements, without the due supervision of their betters, that the Henry Street Settlement was characteristically moved to learn for itself whether these clubs really are potential, or even actual, criminal groups. Having investigated a typical section of them, it reports that the clubs, as the spontaneous devices of poor people not interested in settlement house programs and not given social opportunities at home, are "here to stay"; and that they are by no means the dives which report has luridly represented. Most of them permit moderate gambling and drinking (it is our impression that most country clubs do the same), but most of them also make a point of curbing rowdyism and worse things; and a large number of them belong to the Federation of East Side Clubs, which has a code that (we do not speak jocularly) a Sunday School could scarcely improve upon. In the circumstances, we wonder whether the Henry Street suggestions should all be followed. The idea of giving the poorer clubs a legal status without payment of the fee they cannot afford is very good; but perhaps the promotion of a paternal interest in the "cellar club" on the part of neighborhood houses, or the introduction of adult education schemes among them, are out of place. They have done very well so far; why not let them work it out alone?

Problem Being Solved

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Walter Lippmann's Evolution

A record of an intellectual change from naturalism to theism, and what such a change signifies.

By **Louis J. A. Mercier**

EXACTLY ten years ago Mr. Lippmann published his "Preface to Morals" and Irving Babbitt wrote a review of it for the *Forum*. Babbitt noted that Lippmann had had his Fabian days, still revered Bernard Shaw as one of the true sages, and continued to cling "to certain naturalistic postulates that are responsible for Fabian socialism and innumerable other isms." Ten years ago Lippmann was a modernist face to face with the modernist's dilemma. As Babbitt put it: "The modernist has achieved the emancipation from the traditional faith for which he has been striving, and is disillusioned regarding the results of his own rebellion." Or as Lippmann himself expressed it: "In the free play of his uninhibited instincts he does not find any natural substitute for those accumulated convictions which, however badly they did it, nevertheless organized his soul." Lippmann recognized that the chief conviction which the modernist had lost was "that there is an immortal essence presiding like a king over his appetites. . . . The objective moral certitudes have dissolved, and in the liberal philosophy there is nothing to take their place." So: "Whirl is king, having driven out Zeus." In short Lippmann, who had studied with Babbitt, recognized with his master the inextricable confusion into which the naturalistic age had fallen.

What remedy then did he offer? Lippmann claimed that it was humanism. Oh no, Babbitt answered in his review. For "true humanism which has always asserted the law of measure, Lippmann rejects, because he claims that it is impossible to bridge the gap between a general precept of this kind and the particular circumstance." Lippmann, Babbitt claimed, was still a monist. He remained completely immersed himself in the flux of change. He still denied the duality of human experience which for Babbitt included "the immediate awareness of a something in man that is real in its own way and at the same time lifts him above the phenomenal order." How then could he deal with the problem of adjustment? He did so through a form of Freudian analysis leading to the putting away of childish things and an adjustment to the real, to natural necessity. Thus he could become "disinterested." And this Lippmann called humanism and high religion.

Whereupon Babbitt wrote indignantly: "One should no doubt strive to be objective in the scientific sense, but does it therefore follow that every aspiration of the human heart that does not receive confirmation from the kind of reality to which physical science gives us access must therefore be dismissed as mere wishful thinking and infantile survival? The truth is," Babbitt averred here as in many of his works "the psychoanalysts and other naturalistic psychologists are to be accounted at present among the chief enemies of human nature. . . ."

Babbitt then reasserted the substance of his own doctrine: the recognition, as immediate data of consciousness, of a conflict between the sensual appetites and the natural reason and will; the tendency to excess of even that natural reason and will, especially of the will to power, and hence the need of a higher will, of a will to refrain, which precisely must preside like a king over all appetites including the pride of reason and will; or at least, which may oppose to their lust its own refraining quality truly indispensable to work out any harmony in a human life and hence to secure a measure of stable happiness. Thus Babbitt's conception of human nature included three elements; and, if he considered Mr. Lippmann's position "neither true humanism or high religion but merely an added proof of the modernistic confusion, an ingenious adaptation of stoicism to the needs of the machine age," it was because Lippmann still thought that harmony could be reached through some merely rational sublimation of appetites.

Mr. Lippmann now

Ten years after his "Preface to Morals," Mr. Lippmann gave us not only "The Good Society" but his article "Reconstruction of Democratic Philosophy," written after President Roosevelt's first message to the present Congress, stressing that "the defense of religion, of democracy and of international good faith is all the same fight. To save one, we must make up our mind to save all."

The question was whether Mr. Lippmann still held to the position which Irving Babbitt had so earnestly condemned. The answer is that he does not; that Irving Babbitt could no longer call him a bewildered modernist; that, in fact, he has moved beyond Irving Babbitt's own position to

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the unconditional reassertion of theism, to the recognition that, historically, traditional Christianity is the source of democracy, and that religion remains the indispensable foundation of the good society as opposed to the slave state.

To attempt to chart the path traveled by Mr. Lippmann in these ten years should, then, be of deep interest and value. Even as a psychological study it would deserve notice, for it is striking how few writers evolve from a lower to a higher fundamental alternative of thought. More particularly the case of Mr. Lippmann should be interesting in terms of our American scene, for what the first third of our century meant in non-Catholic college and university circles, particularly in the influential schools of education, was a rapid progress toward the adoption of atheistic naturalism. To evolve in one's thought or to deepen it vitally is difficult enough; to evolve completely out of one conception of man to another, and against the current of one's age, is to challenge the attention of all.

The pressure which moved Mr. Lippmann to re-examine the foundations of his thought was, as might be expected, the aggressive campaigns and the progress of communism, nazism and fascism. Here is his analysis: he saw that the collectivism with which he himself early flirted has no stopping place short of the totalitarian state. Thus fascism is simply the drilling of a population as for war and inevitably makes for war. Likewise communism, which incidentally creates a new form of property—public office—is a militaristic planned economy. In fact, "all known examples of planned economy are military in origin and purpose."

Now, all our modern economic problems spring from the industrial revolution and its essential principle and result: the inevitable division of labor which, all must admit, is a vastly superior mode of production. How then did trouble begin? The product of divided labor came to be regulated in markets by means of prices. Thus specialized labor could be coordinated with the variety of human abilities and preferences. But markets are ruthless. To protect the markets, protectionism developed; to master the market, monopoly and imperialism. Collectivism, in turn, is but an attempt to replace the market by substituting authoritative planning as the regulator of the division of labor; while, as opposed to collectivism, liberalism would perfect and civilize the market.

This we must understand: the mode of production cannot be revolutionized; a truly progressive society must live by the division of labor. The social order needs reform, but only to be better adapted to this necessary division. Collectivism is a mistaken remedy for real abuses, because authoritative direction is inconsistent with experimental science and technological progress; because it would require the marriage of omniscience to omnipotence, while rulers can know only a little and do only a few things, so that more planning can lead only to more chaos. On the other hand, liberalism and the classical economists should not have bogged down in a defense of the *status quo*.

What then needs to be done? The answer is: to perfect the processes of a common law which defines reciprocal rights and duties enforceable in courts; but to recognize at the same time that property, contract and the corporation are bundles of rights and duties defined by the state and alterable by the state. Thus only, without collectivism or paternalism, can economic activity be comprehensively regulated.

In this way many forms of collective action become possible even in a liberal state, and this method of social control, as opposed to collectivism, can be efficient, for men are capable of judging a dispute while it is entirely beyond their capacity to plan and direct a social order. So too, through common conceptions of law accepted by all governments, as opposed to the creation of a world government, may be solved the problem of international peace. What then is needed is a conception of common laws, and through them of equal justice, restraint of prerogative and privilege, and peace as the policy of the nations. But what must be specially noted, common laws reduce in turn to a higher law: the prohibition of arbitrariness in human transactions so that the creative energies of men may be released. On the release of these creative energies, the future depends. To be the good society, society must be free.

The final chapter

Even though the above mosaic of Mr. Lippmann's trenchant phrases from all but the final chapter of his book can but feebly sum up his thesis, it should be evident that he has launched a most central attack upon all forms of regimented social organization. And yet this complete repudiation of totalitarianism and of all forms of collectivism does not constitute the most significant feature of his evolution. This is to be found in his last chapter, "On This Rock." There, Mr. Lippmann, in what really seems a supplementary essay, follows through to the implications of his thesis left undeveloped in his argument. And here Mr. Lippmann concludes with all the emphasis at his command: "I submit that the ultimate issue is joined on the question whether men shall be treated as inviolable persons or as things to be disposed of. It is here that the struggle between barbarism and civilization, between despotism and liberty, has always been fought. Here it must still be fought. The self-evident truth which makes men invincible is that inalienably they are inviolable persons."

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The Catholic critic must now read on with bated breath. Mr. Lippmann has actually made his way to the basic social contention of Catholic thought that every man and woman is an inviolable person, with inalienable rights. But will Mr. Lippmann go on? Will he see that there can be no inviolable human person without God as its origin and end, and that we owe the clinching of that notion to Christianity? Yes, now comes the crucial recognition: "To the masses of the western world, the news that all men are more than things was proclaimed by the Christian gospel and was celebrated in its central mysteries. . . ." Here come words that Catholic writers have used again and again in discussing the message of great joy: "It proclaimed the news to all men that they were not brute things, to all men without exception, the weak, the outcast, the downtrodden, the enslaved and the utterly degraded. The influence of that gospel has been inexhaustible. It anchored the rights of men beyond human interference. . . . It made the pretensions of despots heretical." And now for the final commitment: "For in the recognition that there is in each man a final essence—that is to say, an immortal soul—which only God can judge, a limit was set upon the dominion of men over men."

"On this rock" of belief in God and the recognition of the social values of Christianity, Mr. Lippmann now unequivocally takes his stand, and boldly from that rock he flails all those whom he does not hesitate to call the heresiarchs of the nineteenth century, the Hegelians and Marxians, the pseudo-Darwinians and Nietzscheans, who repudiated as superstitions the traditional ideas in which the inviolable essence of human personality was affirmed, thus bringing down the humanist ideal and the crash of the supernatural order: "The denial of the human soul was the perfect preparation for the revivals of tyranny." Hence, "It is no accident that the only open challenge to the totalitarian state has come from men of deep religious faith."

A few things left out

All this does not mean that Mr. Lippmann's book can wholly satisfy the Catholic critic. In fact, it is probable that it does not satisfy Mr. Lippmann himself, since, on his own admission, his thought was inchoate when he began. His momentous conclusions in the last chapter would indeed require that the whole book be rewritten in their light. For, in the full light of theism and Christianity, Mr. Lippmann's entire argument could be made clearer. For instance, he fully recognizes that the family, the churches and the unions do not depend for their existence upon a legal privilege, but he leaves "among the unsolved problems of liberalism" the question as to whether the state, the church, or the parent shall control the education of youth; the state or private persons control scientific investigation, professional guilds and labor unions.

Now in the light of theistic ethics it can be definitely established that there is a natural moral law stemming from the nature of man in relation to God as its author and end, unchangeable like the nature of man itself; that civil society is called for directly by that nature and hence is antecedent to all social contracts; that the necessary civil laws must conform to the natural law and respect all natural rights; and that among those natural rights are: the right to recognize a divine revelation; the right of property conceived as a social trust; the right of workingmen to a living wage, to trade unions, to the strike without violence for a just cause; the right of the parent to the education of his children; the right of the wife to dignity and a life-long security; the right to life of the unborn babe and of the incapacitated; in short all the rights to moral, intellectual and physical integrity which flow from the existence of the autonomous soul of the individual under God, which Mr. Lippmann now so ably asserts.

These rights thus established are the charter of a fully developed genuine liberalism which, by uniting all men through their duties under God, frees them from human tyranny. But this charter, though gradually clarified, was not developed purely from human experience. It was taught down the centuries by the Catholic Church; its history is to be found in the records of that teaching. It remains a question whether Mr. Lippmann has read them. It also remains doubtful whether, before talking about the "rack of Galileo," or the political principles of the "age of absolutism," he fully consulted the historical record. The "rack of Galileo" is only lurid fiction; and even Louis XVI wrote, in the tradition of his predecessors, including Louis XIV: "The freedom of a monarch is not different from that of his people; it is not permitted to him to will all that he can do; he is obliged, like his people, to will only what he has the right to do." Because, still in the Catholic tradition, the French kings at least in word acknowledged their vassalage to God and the natural law.

Mr. Lippmann's "The Good Society" should, despite these and other faults of omission, deservedly prove to be a landmark in American thought. In it one of the most prominent and influential liberals of our generation, who only ten years ago could be represented by Irving Babbitt as a bewildered modernist, now recognizes, against the false liberalism of the nineteenth century, that the foundation of true liberalism lies in God and religion; and bravely he issues a call to reconstruct "on that rock" a democratic philosophy to oppose the aggressive forces of atheistic naturalism. The battle is now on between Walter Lippmann and John Dewey.

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Who Killed Federal Theatre?

How Congress turned Pinocchio from an actor back into a puppet.

By **Emmet Lavery**

BY AN ACT OF CONGRESS, the curtain rang down at midnight June 30 on the WPA Federal Theatre, one of the most exciting and one of the most controversial enterprises in all theatrical history. Who shall be given the credit or the blame for purging the works program of all theatrical activity? Congressman Dies? Congressman Woodrum? The Workers Alliance?

And what motives shall we assign for the dark deed? Economy? Protection against "subversive" elements? Or just plain aversion to theatre as a government enterprise?

The Federal Theatre, according to my first hand observation, was simply "sold down the river" by its own administration, by a certain wing of the Works Progress Administration. And neither communism nor economy had very much to do with it.

For one thing, the few communists left on the theatre project could not have done any damage. For another, the over-all figure of $1,775,000,000 as finally adopted by both Houses was pretty nearly what everybody wanted all along the line, or was at least reconciled to accept. The problem was simply an elemental one in political strategy, namely: How could WPA obtain its full appropriation, so necessary with the rapid advent of 1940, and yet satisfy congressmen pledged to oppose the New Deal and a House Committee supposed to investigate the whole WPA?

Obviously something had to be thrown to the lions. Thus it was that the high command of the Works Progress Administration made little or no effort to defend the theatre project before the Woodrum committee. Colonel Harrington, it is true, made a perfunctory statement on behalf of the project—of which he still knows little, by his own admission—but nobody was prepared to contest the libelous and one-sided proceedings staged by the Woodrum committee. And had it not been for the magnificent personal fight of Hallie Flanagan before the Senate Committee, the project would have gone to its grave without even the satisfaction of a temporary victory in the Senate.

Eight thousand people out of a total of two million have been singled out for a complete and humiliating extinction. And what kind of people were they? Were they perhaps the type of people whose votes had been used to swing elections in critical districts? Hardly. You can't swing elections with a payroll that is divided among sixty units in eighteen states, especially when the total payroll does not number more than eight thousand.

No, these were not the people that helped elect Senator Barkley in Kentucky! These were the people who gave "Run Little Chillun" a record run of some forty-two weeks in Los Angeles, who made theatrical history with the "Swing Mikado" in Chicago and who did so well by "Murder in the Cathedral" in New York that even the original company from London suffered by comparison, in the opinion of New York critics.

These were people who had brought a million dollars into Federal Theatre box-offices, although more than sixty percent of the productions were given free to school and community groups. These were the people who had in some 1,200 productions in four years given the greatest diversity in theatre entertainment the world has yet seen.

It is true the project has had its vulnerable spots. Like any vast enterprise, it has made its mistakes—and has been prompt in acknowledging them. Yet I seriously doubt whether it was the left wing element in the Workers Alliance, as suggested by my good friend Grenville Vernon in a current issue of THE COMMONWEAL, that was the undoing of the project.

Of course the Alliance at regular intervals claimed to dominate the project, but nobody ever took that seriously, least of all the Alliance. Actually it was only one of eighteen unions with which the project did business. True, some members of the Alliance were doubtless communist. But since by Congress's own rules the project was estopped from inquiring into the religious or political faith of an applicant, the project could hardly be held to account for the presence of an occasional communist.

The fact is that the project had little choice as to most of its personnel. Where it did have some choice was in the matter of play selection and play production. But since Congressmen are notoriously infrequent theatregoers, it was exceedingly difficult to obtain a theatre evaluation on the basis of plays produced.

The editors of THE COMMONWEAL quite sagely observed with regard to Congressman Dirksen's

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attempt to judge plays by their titles that it had seldom been surpassed in Congress for "bias and ignorance." And yet I think the Congressman's position in this respect is seriously challenged by Senator Reynolds, who had visions of "plays spewing forth from the gutters of the Kremlin"!

How refreshing by comparison was the sane and well reasoned position taken by Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans in a telegram to Senators Overton and Ellender in which he said: "I believe the proposed discontinuation of the Federal Theatre project would inflict great hardship on eight thousand workers and terminate efforts which, though not uniformly praiseworthy, have nevertheless produce some worthy cultural results. Hence I recommend its retention in budget provisions now before Congress."

The Woodrum Committee's "investigation"

Why did the Woodrum Committee not subpoena one theatre critic, to say nothing of one or two theatre executives? Perhaps the answer is that the Committee realized the calling of any critics or producers would have turned the proceedings into one continuous rally in behalf of the project. For oddly enough the fight on Federal Theatre found its supposed enemy, the legitimate theatre, united on a proposition for the first time in its life. Critics, producers, managers, actors, playwrights, unions were all agreed that the Federal Theatre had made definite and lasting contributions to American life.

It was much easier for the Committee to hold fast to the "red menace" in its inquiry. Inquiry! What kind of an inquiry *was* this supposed to be? Was it to investigate un-American activities, like the Dies Committee? Or was it rather to investigate the whole subject of business management in the Works Progress Administration?

In the last question lies the real explanation of the Committee's tenacity in keeping at the "red" issue. It was supposed to investigate the subject of business management in the Works Progress Administration and the fact is that it studiously avoided that subject!

If the Woodrum Committee wanted to investigate business management in the Works Progress Administration, all it had to do to show its good faith was to call two men.

The first of these men is Harry Hopkins, now Secretary of Commerce. The other is David Nyles, onetime Boston politician, and now Mr. Hopkins's assistant in the Department of Commerce just as he once was Mr. Hopkins's assistant in the Works Progress Administration. Mr. Hopkins first set up the Works Progress Administration. It was his baby and he was its father. Mr. Nyles is Mr. Hopkins's man Friday.

How then are we to interpret the failure of the Committee to call Mr. Hopkins or Mr. Nyles? The only inference is that Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Nyles must be protected. Protected? Protected from what? If they left behind them a good department, what protection do they need?

Well, we can say this much with certainty. Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Nyles saw eight thousand people used as "whipping boys" and never lifted a hand to stop the slaughter. The sad thing is that Mr. Hopkins could have made a magnificent statement for the program which he fathered. Of course it might have cost him something—to say nothing of Mr. Nyles!

I make these statements with some confidence because as far back as last December I became aware of Mr. Nyles's elaborate plans to protect Mr. Hopkins at any cost. I was on hand, for instance, when Mr. Nyles tried to dissuade Mrs. Flanagan from testifying before the Dies Committee. For several months Mr. Nyles had urged Mrs. Flanagan not to reply too soon to testimony before the Dies Committee, always assuring her that she would have her day in court. And when the day came, he tried at the last minute to stop her. Mrs. Flanagan decided quite properly that she owed more to the project than she did to Mr. Hopkins and her testimony before the Dies Committee is probably the most brilliant exposition of American theatre that has ever appeared.

No. Mrs. Flanagan is not a communist. But for four years she has had to keep her tongue in her teeth, because she was working for the Government. Because when you work for the Government, you don't talk unless your superiors permit.

Well, the "hush-hush" game is over. Now it can be told. The menace in Federal Theatre, just as it is in government today, is not communism but fascism. The red menace in the Federal Theatre was a red herring menace. Political domination of program by regional administrators, politically minded and politically appointed, was the big menace in the last two years of Federal Theatre. Arbitrary usurpation of the whole New York City program by an administrator who knew nothing of theatre; military censorship and political sabotage in California; a definite conspiracy to perpetuate the "red" myth regarding Mrs. Flanagan; these were the real dangers.

Who killed Federal Theatre? Harry Hopkins killed it when he left the baby on the doorstep of people who didn't care for it.

Hallie Flanagan stood by it, breathed the breath of life into it for four years, defended it at every turn. But an orphan is an orphan the world over. And once Mr. Hopkins deserted the theatre, it was just the step-child of the WPA.

Yes, Federal Theatre was killed by a statesman. The great Caesar from Iowa looked the other way at the right moment and the deed was quickly done. Pinocchio is just a puppet once again. But so, it would seem, is Caesar!

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American Art, American Life

A big exhibition at New York's Metropolitan Museum inspires some reflections on both.

By **Edwin Clark**

LOOKING BACK from this commemorative year, American art can be seen as the step-child of the nation. But in the age of belief in the common man, art was favored. The common man—not the connoisseur—welcomed and honored the artist with respect and purchased pictures at good prices. The artists depicted the local scene with the ideas and sentiments of the people in prints and oils. Landscapes of the Hudson River and White Mountains were a clear response to the inspiration of the country. Yearly thousands of people joined the Art Union—a lottery with paintings as prizes—to take a chance on winning a picture for the home. Art was part of living, in this provincial society of the new republic.

After this blissful period came the Civil War and a changed social order. Money and things were in the saddle, as Emerson noted. The folk element was out. The Americano became decidedly self conscious of his honest provincialism, insecure in his sense of taste and, in this baffled status, turned to the supposed surety of European culture, only to be exploited in his desire for personal aggrandisement. The native artist working out his problems was ignored for imitations of what was fashionable in Europe. The younger artists freshly back from Europe in the reconstruction age—and later—who followed the foreign movements were divorced from American life, preoccupied with experiments; and their art assumed an esoteric or genteel aspect remote from the ordinary man.

Perhaps the disruption of native culture was inevitable. But for decades art has had little part in the community life of the nation. Then the era of museum development slowly recreated a new special public interested in art. In all the great fairs, since the centennial of 1876, American art has been displayed in large exhibitions that have been well attended. Yet neither of these worthy types of endeavor has been able to provoke the public to resume its former happy relationship with artists. The common man today does not feel that art is part of contemporary life—not as yet, for all the recent revival—nor does he visit the painter to select a picture for his home.

Museums, in their anxiety to acquire great classical collections, have shared in the general indifference to our American heritage. If it were not that scattered over these years of growing art development there appeared some notable patrons of American art, from the time of Luman Reed to Gertrude V. Whitney and the current great patronage of the Federal Art Projects, the state of our cultural history would be sadly the poorer.

The Metropolitan Museum has been among those who have looked diffidently upon the step-child as something of a nuisance. Today, for the duration of the New York World's Fair, the Metropolitan has devoted nine long galleries to a display of "Life in America." It has arranged a special loan exhibition of American paintings from Pocahontas to Woodrow Wilson. Decidedly the concept behind the plan of this exhibit was hardly more than a left-handed compliment to American art, for the emphasis is upon history, and the show is a vehicle "for historic data." It is a social history of the building of the nation, with "Life," not art, in its title and approach.

Obviously American art began with portraiture. The Puritans in their arid thought suspected art. Their state of appreciation was indicated by John Adams, who remarked that art was always prostituted to the service of superstition. But the Puritan found nothing wrong in preserving his own image and flattering his social position by portraiture. A characteristic art production of the eighteenth century was the group portrait; exposing the varying decorum and style of the well-to-do and fashionable colonial. The most important of this group, officially, is Savage's "Washington Family." Of different interest and more ingratiating value are Matthew Pratt's company of students painting in Benjamin West's studio and the panel picture of two young men on the stairs, looking back over their shoulders, by Charles Willson Peale.

One of the potentially great names in American art is that of Samuel F. B. Morse, better known as the inventor of the telegraph. Thoroughly trained, a master of the figure and a vigorous person, Morse came on the scene during the decline of enthusiasm for portraits. He went from town to town to find sitters. He was most successful in Charleston, where he did portraits for fifteen dollars a head. After a number of years spent painting portraits of Tom, Dick and Harriet, only to be reminded that there was some-

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thing funny about the mouth, he devoted two years to a huge canvas of an interior of "The Old House of Representatives," with diminutive portraits of statesmen, and discovered that nobody wanted it. To Fenimore Cooper he wrote, "I have been told several times since my return that I was born one hundred years too soon for the arts in our country." To see the superb portrait of Lafayette and the picture of the representatives' chamber at the Metropolitan is all one needs to realize the price we have paid for the telegraph.

The Hudson River school

Although quite authentically connected with American life, the school of Hudson River painters is not particularly well represented. In the realistic detail of Durand and the panorama of Cole, there was response to the natural beauty of the land. Kensett appears, to recall that he pleasingly fashioned a harmony in paint from nature. From Bierstadt, who expanded the school of landscape art to hysterical proportions, comes an astonishing picture, in persuasive scale and delicate color—the "Bombardment of Fort Sumter."

It is when the artists of genre are studied—so much more appreciated now than at any time since their own age—that the rarer quality of this big exhibit is found. American genre painting was obscured for long, because the tradition lapsed, in less expert hands, into sentimental story-telling, or was confused with folk (or "popular") art. In the pictures of the genre painters of the middle decades of the nineteenth century are found the typical American scenes and characters, shrewdly observed and depicted with ability. The group of genre works of William S. Mount are those of a minor master, perfect in their realization of early spring on a Long Island farm, a barnyard scene or the delights of eel fishing. It is regrettable that Mount's exuberant self portrait was not added, for it would have given the inwardness of spirit that kept American artists at work, even on the frontier. With vigor George Caleb Bingham portrayed the racy frontier men against the solitude of the wilderness. In "Fur Traders Descending the Missouri" Bingham rose to high achievement in genre. Caton Woodville and Blythe were more satirical in point of view and expressed the humor of the Americano confronted with politics and January bills. These commentators on life, with Whittredge, Eastman Johnson and others, imbued the familiar scene with an American feeling that is vital today and worthy of being recalled.

It was from these minor masters, who made much with so slight a technique, that the figures of our great period in American art stem—with, of course, a superior conception of the art of painting. Homer and Eakins continued the tradition, although their output was not limited to the genre form, in the isolation of those years desolate for native art, when anything American had small appeal to the public and Europe was the touchstone, with Whistler and Sargent expatriates. But Eakins, Homer, Inness, Ryder, Blakelock and Wyant decided to fight it out against the indifferent environment. To none of these artists, except Homer, came the recognition his merit deserved. As exponents of life in the United States, Homer and Eakins dominate the show. The special committee that selected the exhibit was not concerned with imaginative painting, so Blakelock is present in a single picture—the unbuilt site of the museum in 1868—and Ryder not at all. The effect is that of a history of our letters that leaves out Melville, Poe and Hawthorne!

The New York realists—a group that comprised the famous "Eight" and Coleman, Du Bois and others—is casually shown in loans that feature Luks, Sloan and Bellows. Henri, who was the guiding spirit of this group, continuing the leadership of Eakins into the twentieth century with the wise demand that young artists paint what they most intimately knew and felt, is not included. It is to the New York realists—artists of the water front and city streets—that contemporaries of the American-scene school are most indebted. For with the introduction of modernism from Europe the art world seethed with stimulating and conflicting ideas, out of which developed a definite contribution and bewildering confusion. During the chaotic years the influence of the New York realists (none of whom were born in New York, and not all of whom were strictly realists) was a stabilizing force that kept young artists from being swept entirely from their moorings. The realists, with roots in their country and in tradition, were also familiar with European ideas, selectively borrowing from modernism what might resolve a form through which to express what they felt about the life of their day.

To celebrate the exhibit of life in the United States in the splendor of its historic glory and the humor of its racy comment, Harry B. Wehle, curator of painting, has compiled an attractive catalogue, with an informing introduction and associate items. It is complete with quotations from Whitman and from Parrington's great books on American thought and ideas. The concern of the introduction is almost entirely with American life as revealed in the panorama of the historical scene. If Mr. Wehle had reflected on Whitman's observation, "I find no sweeter fat than sticks to my own bones," he might have forgot the stepchild attitude which would use art as merely a vehicle. He might have organized the greatest show of American art that has ever been held. It would still have been the history of man in America—but complete in its variety—and a tribute for a great museum to offer to the artists on an anniversary.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

I WAS strongly impressed by a letter in last week's issue of THE COMMONWEAL by James D. Collins concerning the views of Christopher Dawson expressed in his recent book, "Beyond Politics," which have become controversial in a degree that suggests the need for a thoroughgoing discussion, on the part of Catholics particularly, of the whole subject of religion in its relations to the fundamental problems of political action, both international and national. As it happens I have not yet read Mr. Dawson's volume, at least in book form, though I suppose it contains at least some of the separate essays on its general theme which its author has contributed to various periodicals during the last year or two and which I have read as they appeared, so that I have a fairly correct knowledge, I believe, of the Dawsonian point of view. I would, therefore, agree with Mr. Collins that those Catholics who consider, as Mr. Collins quotes one of them as saying, that "Christopher Dawson seems to be going fascist on us" and that his latest book shows that he is merely bent upon "picking out the defects in democracy" are more alarmist than warranted in holding that mischievous opinion. It is mischievous, it seems to me, because it tends to harden and even to crystallize the dividing line between Catholics who heartily and consistently oppose totalitarianism in politics and uphold liberty and yet simultaneously would criticize (with a view to curing) what they honestly hold to be "the defects of democracy" and those Catholics to whom any critism of "democracy" is indicative of the critic's "fascist" tendencies. If this process continues, for it is already well developed, it will tend to divide the intellectual forces of Catholicism at a time when unity among such forces, at least on fundamental principles, is needed urgently.

In the measures taken in many countries that are alarmed by and are striving to protect themselves from the ever-growing effects of the alliance between Germany, Italy and Japan, based as such measures are upon war-like moves, if not yet actually upon war itself, there steadily appears the paradoxical result that in these "democratic" régimes, totalitarian methods more and more come to prevail. Conscription in England is a startling instance of this tendency. The increase of executive power in France, adopted as the conflict between the parliamentary parties increasingly confused or stultified the defense of the nation from the threatened menace of Nazi aggression, is also apparent. It is a process which unless halted, or even reversed, has no logical terminus except totalitarianism. Now, it is certain that there are millions of Frenchmen who loathe totalitarianism and who at the same time are convinced that the defects and the plain evils which have grown up in and about the parliamentary, or democratic, processes, were bringing about the ruin of the nation. The same thing is true in England, plus the fact that many patriotic Englishmen have been pointing out that what was called democracy in England was in reality mere camouflage for a plutocratic oligarchy which had taken over the traditional aristocratic system of British government and social institutions, as these latter, in their turn, had overcome and superseded the former power of the monarchical system, which in its best aspects had curbed the power of the rich and privileged classes. Moreover, the same sort of criticism of our democratic system has always been lively and, on the whole, productive of at least certain needed reforms in our prevailing ways of political and economic life in our own country.

Is this freedom to criticise to be condemned and opposed now, in the face of the menace of totalitarianism? If so, the condemnation in itself is a partial surrender to the psychology of totalitarianism. It seems to me that this surrender has become widespread, and that unless it is checked it will bring about a complete halt to all that has been good and desirable in the process of reforming the defects of our national life during this time of crisis.

I therefore give a hearty welcome to the views propounded by Mr. Collins in the letter in last week's paper. As he remarks, we may or may not agree with what such a competent and moderate thinker as Christopher Dawson brings forward as proof of the inner weaknesses and technical faults of the liberal and democratic systems of England and France and the United States; but it is no answer to him, or any other competent critic, to dismiss him as a fascist. Mr. Collins is right in thinking that Dawson is rendering a real service to Catholic thought in the democratic countries "by rousing it from the doldums of mere denunciation of the dictatorships and . . . satisfaction with the existing versions of democracy."

It is to be hoped that a similar spirit will be displayed in our press and elsewhere in considering the problems of how best to deal with the threat of war, and the further threat of post-war revolution, aroused by the continuous progress of totalitarian aggression. We should not too readily condemn those who point out that however evil may be the Nazi system, for example, in Germany, the German people as a whole have a strong case for the national demand advanced by the Nazi government for certain necessary readjustments of industrial and other factors in the world economy. There is a case, in other words, not merely for "appeasement" but for justice. In our own country, too, the dissatisfaction with the results achieved by the Roosevelt administration plus the opposition to all its proposals and to the inner spirit of its program may bring about gigantic evils if the patriotic duty of criticism is regarded as outworn when it is applied to our own institutions. Mr. Collins has performed a great service to the cause of reasonable discussion, threatened now by many to whom such free discussion should be the very breath of life—namely, the believers in democracy.

Communications

THE TENDENCY OF CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGY

Providence, R. I.

TO the Editors: Mr. David McCabe's letter about the corporative state not being wanted by American Catholics, who, he thinks, want instead that labor and

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capital shall go on in a modified cat-and-dog-fight manner, free from "coercion" from that regulative power of the community which we call the state, interests me very much. It interests me chiefly because it shows such an indifference to the wise pronouncements of the Holy Father in "Quadragesimo Anno."

My translation of that memorable document reads: "the public authority, in view of the common good, has the right to specify what is licit and what is illicit for property owners in the use of their possessions," and again, "when civil authority adjusts ownership to meet the needs of the public good it acts not as the enemy but as the friend of private owners." And again, "the primary duty of the state is to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests." And again, "The state should be the supreme arbiter, ruling in kingly fashion far above all party contention" [in matters economic and industrial]. Pius XI indeed did recognize the danger of state control of capital and labor in what seems to him a necessary syndicalism of some sort; but his preventative for those evils is not to continue a liberal system, but to *reform the state*.

If Mr. McCabe thinks that the class-war can be denatured by benevolent desire, in this secularized and irreligious world, he would seem to be a considerable optimist, more so than the realistic Pope. And just how the state is going to be "preventing any voluntary group from maintaining terms and prices contrary to the public interest" without compulsory arbitration of labor-capital disputes and minus the prohibition of strikes and lockouts by threat or exercise of police power, it is a little hard to understand.

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL.

CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN WAY

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: "Catholics and the American Way" (June 30) called for a spate of admiring letters, as well it might. For variety's sake, here is a discordant note.

Mr. Pollock links our Catholic heritage with only two aspects of American democracy—political and economic. He did not even mention in passing the particular stake which American Catholics have in spiritual democracy. Since the very birth of our holy Church, Catholics have at all times borne testimony to the value of each individual soul. It is only in comparatively recent times that this ideal has been enlarged to encompass the belief in spiritual freedom. Enlightened men everywhere today recognize that the first right of man is to worship God and save one's soul in the light which has been given. Liberty of conscience is the first principle of a democratic state. Democracy isn't just counting heads or dividing up the profits, important as these political and economic aspects are.

Mr. Pollock and your correspondents do not so much ignore this as they do take it for granted. In the light of events today, is this wise? Totalitarianism may function with the consent of the governed and both fascism and communism have grappled with their economic ills more realistically than we have. The one irreconcilable ground between their way and ours is liberty of conscience.

Now on these American shores over three centuries ago this great democratic ideal was put into effect by a group of practical Catholic statesmen, for the first time in recorded history. The Baltimores enforced by law religious toleration, at first to all Christians and later as occasion demanded they extended it to Jew and atheist alike. If their ideals were eclipsed for a time, they shown forth again with undiminished splendor and have become a part of the heritage of all Americans.

Why is it that Catholics in general are apt to overlook this vigorous stream of American tradition and neglect to claim their share of glory reflected from this unique and glorious experiment of the Calverts? Religious toleration to all citizens and complete separation of church and state were tried and found good in only one spot on earth prior to 1776, and now this spiritual democracy (fed from many other sources, of course, as well as from Maryland) has become the very keystone of our nation on which Americans are trying to construct day by day a finer political and economic structure.

In considering "Catholics and the American way" some obeisance should be made to the Calverts, who pointed out to us our rights as well as our obligations so many years ago. Can't you imagine how antagonistic utterances about Jews would grieve the man who penned the Instructions to Leonard Calvert?

A READER.

WHY WE HAVE IDLE MILLIONS

MacMahan Island, Me.

TO the Editors: Mr. Harrington's article, "Why We Have Idle Millions" (July 14) was like a well in a thirsty land, after all the blatherings we get in books and periodicals about what is wrong with the world and what we should do to bring us into a condition of peace and plenty. Why is it that in a country where colleges are as plentiful as saloons, and where conferences, congresses and summer schools of sociology are threatening to supplant the churches, we have such dense ignorance of the most important subject to mankind, next to religion?

Mr. Harrington has pointed out how simple the problem is; but, as in religion, the people lack faith. How, they think, could men and women earn their living without the aid of a strong government? It seems, sometimes, as though the more schooling a man has received, the more twisted his mind.

While Mr. Harrington gave a lucid explanation of "the workings of ground rent" in rural districts, the city dweller may easier understand the "workings" in urban life. The great land values are not in farming districts but in cities. The larger the population, the higher the land values. It is a natural law (and therefore a divine law) that land values rise in proportion to the increase in population, in response to an increased demand.

On a recent visit to Rockefeller Center, the guide informed us that the buildings belong to Rockefeller Center, but the land underneath is owned by Columbia University; and that the University receives an annual rent from Rockefeller Center of something like three million dollars! And what does the University give in return? A receipt!

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That three million dollars, annually, belongs to the people of the City of New York; because, by their presence, they create that value. One may say that Columbia University "invested" its money in that land and therefore the rent legitimately belongs to it. The same argument was used by the slave-owners before the Civil War.

Huge as the rental is in this case, it is small compared with the total annual rent of land in New York City; and every village, town and city in the world has its own earned fund from which it could and should pay for its necessary expenses, such as street lighting, paving, policing, sewers, parks and the like. Then all other taxes could and should be abolished. If that were done, any country adopting this system would enjoy, for the first time in its existence, real prosperity—prosperity not for a few, but for all, according to each person's earning ability; and it would be a prosperity that would give to all a security that no one has today.

September second, next, will be the centenary of the birth of Henry George, who gave this message of hope to the world.

In what way did the world receive the message? In much the same way it has received the messages of all its prophets. Is it too uncharitable to say that, since individuals must suffer for their sins, so communities suffer and should suffer for their sins? In both cases, the suffering is the result of not obeying divine laws. Our systems of taxation and land-holding are in defiance of the divine law, "Thou Shalt Not Steal." No government has the right to ignore that commandment, as all governments have done. Governments steal under the polite name of taxes, and allow and assist landlords to steal ground rents from the community.

From August 30 to September 2, the centenary of Henry George's birth will be celebrated in the Commodore Hotel, New York City, by delegates from all over the world. Anyone who may be in New York at that time is invited to attend the sessions:

Another word: write to the Henry George School of Social Science, 30 East 29 Street, New York City, for information regarding their evening classes in all large cities where, in ten weekly lessons, you may receive free instruction in this most important subject. Incidentally, all teachers give their time without salary. You may even receive this education through a correspondence course. By following these suggestions, you will learn "Why we have idle millions."

ALEXANDER GREENE.

CHICAGO "CATHOLIC WORKER"

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editors: The other evening someone asked us when the next issue of the paper would be out. There will be no July issue, we explained, we're broke again. Our listener was a bit petulant. "That seems to be the perennial theme of the Catholic Worker—'we're broke again.' Why don't you settle down, run a paper and forget the other work? Why do you have to take on this hospitality? What have houses of hospitality and soup lines to do with papers?"

Everything, the way we see it.

In the paper we have stressed the need for the works of mercy, the need for a personal approach to the problem of unemployment. We are settled here in one of the poorest neighborhoods in Chicago, where unemployment is rampant. We know what the staggering figures released by the government mean, in terms of personal needs.

And every day we see the hungry and homeless in great numbers. We feel that we have a duty to supply their urgent, basic needs. We have to make their needs known to others.

The great work of Christians in our day and age is to show a world that has grown sick and sorry with hatred and suspicion, the lesson of love. Love is the dynamite of the Christian revolution.

Love, one for another, is the answer to most of our problems. Love is the great commandment. Our job is to teach men to love God and, in loving Him, to love one another.

Our Lord when He was here on earth expressed His love for us in homely ways. He wants us to love one another, to show our love in the same way. "A new commandment I give unto you," He said, "that you love one another."

The disciples on the way to Emmaus knew Him "in the breaking of bread." When, after His resurrection, the apostles were amazed at His appearing among them, He asked, "Have you anything to eat?" Once seven of them were out fishing. When they returned Our Lord had a fire blazing and they sat down there on the shore to eat the fish He had cooked. All through the Gospels we read of the stress He put on these homely ways. After He cured Peter's mother-in-law, she got up and prepared their dinner. Once He brought a little girl back to life. "Give her to eat," He told the child's mother.

He spoke of the last judgment. "When I was thirsty," He said, "you gave me to drink. When I was hungry, you gave me to eat. . . . Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of my brethren, you have done it unto me."

It is vacation time, the most inauspicious season of the year to make this special appeal. But we can hold out no longer.

We now have seventy-one cents on hand. We owe hundreds. There are forty guests here in the house and two groups of hungry men, numbering hundreds, line outside our door twice a day. Please help us now when we need your support so desperately.

THE EDITORS OF THE CATHOLIC WORKER.
868 *Blue Island Avenue.*

THE MEANS OF LIFE

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: With the irresponsible accusations being hurled against American labor organizations by persons claiming to represent Catholic opinion, it was good to read (July 28 issue) of Bishop Sheil's address to the CIO in Chicago. Chicago Catholics are alive and merit your close watching.

FRED RANEY.

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Points & Lines

How Are the Movies?

IT IS NOW a little over three years since Pius XI issued "Vigilanti Cura," an encyclical on the subject of the motion picture. In it the late Holy Father summarizes the history of attempts to make the cinema into a force for good, describes the need for action in this direction, praises the American Legion of Decency. He stresses the "necessity" of recreation for "people who labor under the fatiguing conditions of modern industry." He points out the large place the movies have taken in the field of recreation and their power for evil and good:

> On the other hand, good motion pictures are capable of exercising a profoundly moral influence upon those who see them. In addition to affording recreation, they are able to arouse noble ideals of life, to communicate valuable conceptions, to impart better knowledge of the history and beauties of the fatherland and other countries, to present truth and virtue under attractive forms, to create at least the flavor of understanding among nations, social classes and races, to champion the cause of justice, to give new life to the claims of virtue, to contribute positively to the genesis of a just social order in the world.

The Holy Father then stresses the moral obligation of pastors "to exercise their vigilance over films wherever they may be produced or offered to Christian peoples." A method of procedure is outlined, with a caution against too rigid approval or condemnation:

> Were it possible, it would in itself be desirable to establish a single list for the entire world, because all live under the same moral laws. Since, however, there is here a question of pictures which interest all classes of society, the great and the humble, the learned and the unlettered, the judgment passed upon the film cannot be the same in each case in all respects.

The encyclical stresses the need of proper personnel in such undertakings:

> The office force must be composed of persons who are familiar with the technique of the motion picture and who at the same time are well-grounded in the principles of Catholic morality and doctrines. They must, in addition, be under the guidance and direct supervision of a priest chosen by the Bishop.

The continuing work of the Legion of Decency in the United States is well known: a similar work has been undertaken in France and is briefly described in *La Vie Intellectuelle* by L. Oudet, program director for one of the Catholic "circuits." There is the "Centrale Catholique du Cinema et de la Radio" which acts in somewhat the same capacity as our Legion of Decency and publishes a weekly magazine, *Choisir*. Its classification of films is along a somewhat different line than that with which we are familiar in this country. Apart from condemned pictures, the following categories are used:

1. Jolly films which can produce explosions of laughter without making use of objectionable situations or spicy jokes or inappropriate double meanings, films which do not lead the public to laugh at the laws of morals or to find amusement in their transgression.
2. Films for every kind of public which, without being sugary, do not prematurely raise moral issues which would be above the heads of children. To put before an audience of children questions which are not suited to their age is to run a chance of improperly troubling their consciences.
3. Films which concern themselves with actual problems. In this category are accepted films dealing with the whole of life, as we rub elbows with it every day, always with the provision that everything is discreetly suggested without being suggestive and that good overcomes evil from the nature of the case and by the psychological working out of the plot.
4. Finally films in which, as is often the case in life, evil overcomes good, with the strong proviso that moral values are not distorted.

In addition to this central supervisory body, there are a number of "circuits" or chains of theatres under Catholic control. The purposes of these circuits are:

> (a) to provide for the public "family" theatres; at the same time to supply recreation for country districts and to work, with the press and the radio, to stop countrymen from deserting the country;
> (b) to influence film producers to produce a larger number of "family" films.

The circuits, in addition to operating "family" theatres, also own and operate large "commercial" theatres where pictures of all sorts (except the altogether objectionable) are shown.

In another article in the same periodical, Father Pie Duployé, O.P., discusses the whole matter of the cinema from a Catholic point of view and attempts to answer the question: Will the genius of Christianity find for itself in the years to come a new vehicle of expression through the moving picture?

> One cannot in brief space answer such a question; one can only point out a few lines for study and thought. And false counsels are not lacking! There is the archeological film, which reconstructs the Christian past. Even when it is intensely moving (like the Life of Saint Paul) it will still contribute to the establishment in the popular mind of the idea that Christianity can only be expressed in terms of ancient symbols. Obviously it is necessary to plant a contrary notion in the mind of the general public, to express faith in the contemporary life of the Church, and to furnish imaginations, often dried up even among Catholics, with content at once rich, novel, and contemporary, content based upon good theology made living through our daily lives. Then there is the "preachy" film—the most disastrous of all—which amounts to making Christianity into a "propaganda." The moralizing film, in the artificial sense of the word, depicts people with certain prerequisite characteristics, abstract and pure, while a Christian life, if it is to be a life at all, must be mixed, creative, unforeseen, dangerous. Finally there is the film in which the supernatural appears in bold relief, where the leaven is valued for itself without regard for the dough which supplied the leaven with a reason for existence. The Church is nothing if she is not the revival and the completion of humanity and the world in Christ. . . .
>
> Only an imaginative consciousness and an imagination which are creatively Christian would have enough insight to guarantee the quality, the purity, the physical integrity of the image created by the motion picture. They alone would have enough keenness and strength to bring forth, in all its richness, visual experience. Thus the cinema can demonstrate once more and in a way entirely its own that fundamental law of all Christian culture that the world itself in all its glory is only revealed to those whose vision has acquired some of its light from the wisdom of God.

American and French reviews of a recent and successful film are interesting in the light of this. *America's* critic

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said of "Wuthering Heights":

> . . . This film is a masterly re-creation, retaining the sensational plot, the Gothic characters and the essential naïveté of the motivation, along with passages of genuine, brooding emotion. . . . William Wyler has caught the moods brilliantly. . . . As Emily Brontë was unorthdox, so the film arranges a posthumous rendezvous for Heathcliff and Cathy, which apotheosizes their false fidelity in a flush of immoral sentimentality, and this breach, together with the morbid revenge motif, makes even adult recommendation precarious.

The Legion of Decency puts "Wuthering Heights" in its Class B (Objectionable in Part) category.

Here is *Temps Présent* on this film:

> . . . It seems to me that the lyricism of such a subject exceeds the possibilities of the screen. . . . In spite of all the technical advantages of Hollywood, I do not see in this adaptation a decided success . . . the very souls of the characters elude the resources of the moving picture; the camera which registers with terrifying passiveness the passions of these peoples projected on the story of the tragedy can only convey the fire which devours them by a constant bombast.
>
> Could it be otherwise? I don't believe so. If it were not for the respect which we must pay the literary masterpiece, I would perhaps say that this film cuts the figure of a pretentious melodrama. . . .

And the same critic, writing in *La Vie Intellectuelle,* says:

> William Wyler's "Wuthering Heights," despite impeccable technical excellence, is bombastic and literary.

Note our emphasis on morals, that of the French on technique and esthetics.

Blackfriars offers an integral analysis:

> The problem: What are Catholics to do about the cinema? is I think capable of two solutions. There is first the Catholic solution and secondly the sectarian solution. We have to remember that from the cultural point of view and in the eyes of the non-Catholic world, the Church is a sect, is simply one of the innumerable bodies which are trying to win others to their views. Now the danger is that Catholics, particularly in a country where Catholics are in a minority, may come to accept this position, may try to fight the world with its own weapons. This is the sectarian solution. We must distinguish between using the *resources* of the modern world and using the *methods* of the modern world, which are the outcome of an abnormal situation which as Catholics we do not desire to perpetuate.
>
> The fact is that Catholic art and a Catholic cinema are only possible in a society truly Catholic. Not a society which is officially Catholic or of which the majority of the people are Catholics, but a society which is founded on Catholic principles.

The writer goes on to suggest that the Legion of Decency has been too restricted in its approach, emphasizing the moral aspect of the matter at the expense of the artistic—which the Holy Father was at pains to stress. He continues.

> A more interesting example is provided by the Belgian Center of Cinematographic Action under the leadership of Canon Brohée. The Center has concentrated its attention on exhibiting films. It has tried to reverse the principle of giving the public what it wants by making the public want better films. It has done this by getting a large number of cinema theatres under its control. The fact that it has carefully considered the artistic value of the films seems to me to have made its work immeasurably more important than the work of the Legion of Decency. Films are considered from every possible angle—esthetic, moral, technical and entertainment.

The Screen

Prison Walls and College Songs

AS A DIATRIBE against injustice, "Each Dawn I Die" is more forceful in its physical aspects than in its argument. What success this exciting melodrama may have must be attributed to: Jerome Odlum's vivid novel relating the experiences of a reporter who is "framed" and sentenced to hard labor in a penitentiary; William Keighley's masterful direction that instils grim realism in the scenes of the prison twine mills and preserves rare restraint in those episodes that might have blubbered with sentimentality; James Cagney's good performance as the maltreated reporter whose ideals of justice change to bitter resentment after months in prison; George Raft's portrayal of an underworld killer who is finally persuaded by the reporter's sweetheart to do one decent thing in his rotten career; Jane Bryan, George Bancroft, Maxie Rosenbloom and a group of "bit" players whose capable handling of the smaller rôles makes the picture convincing. Objection may be made to the guards' brutality and to such occasional overly-smart lines as Raft's "O.K., canary, start singing," when he forces Cagney's framer to confess. But only praise can be dealt out for the well controlled scenes in which Cagney is visited by his mother, or when he is before the parole board, or when he smells the open air of freedom.

When the label reads, "Walter Wanger presents," one looks for something extraordinary. His "Winter Carnival," however, is fluff with the redeeming feature of timely coolness. Using Dartmouth, its winter carnival and a Hanover locale as background, this picture does its commonplace story in such a musical comedy manner that one expects any scene to end with the handsome students and their pretty visitors breaking into a chorus routine in trim ski costumes. The flippant plot concerns a reawakened romance between a likable young professor, Richard Carlson, and an oh-so-gay divorcée, Ann Sheridan. You don't dare think what the married life of this pair will be. . . . Perhaps we're taking all this too seriously. The snowy-white winter scenes, Dartmouth songs and happy boys and girls are excellent midsummer night's dream.

Hollywood's cutest baby, Sandy Henville, isn't enough to make a good picture out of "Unexpected Father." Mischa Auer lends his expert comedy touches to the proceedings and rises to a new high in his Pan, the spirit of abandon. But Director Charles Lamont lets the other members of his cast do the usual stuff in a story divided between backstage material and competition to adopt the ten-months-old darling.

"The Magnificent Fraud" may be a fraud, but it's nothing magnificent. It exposes the efforts of a French actor (Akim Tamiroff) to impersonate a Central American president in order to further the wicked schemes of Lloyd Nolan and his plotters. Witty Mary Boland and intelligently beautiful Patricia Morison assist with comedy relief and love interest. It's all so obvious and phoney from the beginning that one is quite impressed with the apt title.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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A Bad, Bad Book

By H. A. REINHOLD

IF IMMANUEL KANT were alive, the local Nazi *Gauleiter* of Koenigsberg would long ago have withdrawn from him the *venia legendi.* Most probably he would by now occupy a chair in Harvard or Oxford. Like Goethe and other great Germans he is not very much quoted and praised by the present lords of Germany. But I have not heard that his writings have been forbidden as yet. Friends of the new system in Berlin, however, should advise the Gestapo to do so at once, because there is a little booklet * of Kant which contains more dynamite in 67 pages than does many a lengthy refutation of "Mein Kampf."

And Kant would fit into the American picture so well that one might almost suspect that there was an interdependence between his "Perpetual Peace" and the men who wrote and voted the Constitution. What do the "revolutionaries" of the Swastika think of their great countryman, the Prussian philosopher of stern duty, when he says: "As a republican constitution is the only one that is entirely conformable to the rights of man [By the way: this book was printed, published and read in Prussia, then an absolute monarchy! What orphan boys those eighteenth-century tyrants were compared with their ilk of the twentieth century] it is also the most difficult to establish and maintain; so much so, that it has been said, it requires angels and not men [who are] under the domination of interested inclinations, to realize a form of government so sublime. But nature employs these interested inclinations themselves, to give to the general will, with the respect due to reason, upon which it is founded, the efficacious practice it stands in need of. The question is, only so to organize a state (and this is certainly not beyond the power of mortals) that the action and reaction of these various inclinations either annihilates or moderates their injurious effect, and by rendering it null to reason, force man to be, if not a good moral being, at least a good citizen." . . . "The problem of a constitution is solvable even to a nation of devils . . . if this people is but endowed with understanding. . . ."

Kant advocates republicanism for the sake of peace because he thinks that the relations of nations should be based on this same realistic view of man, and international peace can only be preserved in an atmosphere which is predominantly republican, i.e., safeguarding constitutional rights, respect of law and rationality of human relations. Kant's realism fully shows on these pages, in which he raps political opportunism and, with an almost prophetic spirit, sarcastically expounds the shortsightedness and fallacy of such "eternal" principles of cheap statecraft as *Fac et excusa, Si fecisti nega* and *Divide et impera.* "No one, it is true, is now the dupe of these maxims; they are too universally known still to impose [Abyssinia, Bohemia, Austria?]. . . . Great powers blush only at the judgment of other great powers. . . . Their being all on a par as to the morality of their maxims, they blush not when they are imputed to them, but when they employ them without success. Political honor still remains to them . . . the aggrandizement of their power, in whatever manner it may have been effected."

"Laws always lose in force what the government gains in extent and a despotism which, destroying the minds, stifles the germs of every good, and sooner or later degenerates into anarchy."

If Kant's small, but weighty, volume may look old fashioned because of its language, its liberalistic rationalism, its too great trust in the rationality of man, it still is a consolation for us, showing us that what happens around us is as old as history. Humanity nevertheless has survived.

The totalitarians, of course, will answer that if Kant fits into the American picture, so much the worse for America.

To such thinkers it proves that America belongs in the eighteenth and not the twentieth century. They pretend that they have outgrown Kant's idealism as unrealistic and fatal in a world of national imperialism. They claim that bitter experience has taught them the sad lesson that only a nation on a thinly populated but wealthy soil, away from competing nationalities and protected by two vast oceans, can afford "muddling along" with Kant's and his contemporaries' idealism. They consider themselves as the honest realists.

I believe that whatever they may have to say for themselves, it would be good for their youth to read this one book of Kant and to examine their consciences.

His teaching of course is all but Catholic and his outlook on religion is almost that of the Nazi doctrinaires, namely relativism, going much further than the average Protestant of his era would have gone. "Diversity of religion: a very singular expression! . . . There may be different kinds of historical faith attached to relative events, not to religion, but to its establishment and which appertains to the jurisdiction of the learned; there may likewise be different books of religion (the Zendavesta, the Veda, the Koran, etc.), but there is only one religion, true for all men and all times. These can therefore be only accidental means, which serve as a vehicle to religion and change according to times and places." I quote extensively on this attitude of Kant, carefully hidden in the small print of a foot note and assiduously leaving out the Bible on the list of relative "vehicles" of the one and real religion; it reveals the whole man.

It is necessary to put the non-philosophical reader on his guard, as the book contains so many good things, some almost prophetic, that one might be inclined to forget Kant's intellectual foundation.

Where no other correctives reach young Germans, one might wish that they cleanse their minds from the dregs of Nazi propaganda with the stern and implacable reasoning of the old man from Koenigsberg.

It will console Americans too to see that at least in this case Germany cannot be identified with the Nazism and that there are still things in common between true Germany and the best of American traditions.

* Perpetual Peace, by Immanuel Kant. New York: Columbia University Press. $1.00.

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More Books of the Week

Tragic 1938

Not Peace but a Sword, by Vincent Sheean. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.75.

THE DIVIDING LINE between the style of writing practiced by one of the most esteemed contemporary schools of novel writing—that associated with the name of Hemingway—and newspaper reporting of fine quality is a faint thing, often difficult to perceive. Mr. Sheean has worked mostly on the reporting side, Mr. Hemingway on the fictional. Yet the latter was during much of 1938 correspondent in Spain for the North American Newspaper Alliance, and the former's most recent book was a novel—"A Day of Battle."

It is not altogether extraordinary, then, that this further book of reminiscences should have some of the character of fiction. If it is taken as fiction, there is little to be said against it, and a great deal to be said in its favor. It is easy, often thrilling to read. Its sentiments are noble and just. Its moral indignation is of a fine savor and quality. Its turns of phrase are often more than felicitous. The only trouble with the whole thing is that Mr. Sheean is dealing with real events in a real world, and he seems incapable of seeing it anywhere near whole.

Plato's analysis of art as being a purveyor of falsehood most certainly has a valid application when the artist, who should be dealing with a fictive world and ideal truth, applies his techniques to history, to history so new that it merges with one's daily newspaper. Mr. Sheean is the kind of artist who justifies Plato, for he cannot be said to serve truth. "Not Peace but a Sword" sets out to be a composite picture of Europe through the eyes of a newspaper correspondent reporting the unhappy events of that inglorious year—1938. It is vivid; it has humanity. You wish that you could believe it all, and you get very irritated because you find you can't.

Mr. Sheean's principal preoccupation is with the Spanish War. Four out of his ten chapters are devoted to this matter. And given the patterns which he imposes upon the events of the time, this is natural. For Mr. Sheean sees in the world today only one struggle, one fight to the death—that between fascism and liberty. The touchstone of liberty is opposition to fascism, particularly opposition which is willing to go the whole hog, which prefers to die rather than submit. Since no one can deny that one part of the Spanish Civil War was a bloody struggle against fascism, Mr. Sheean finds in Spain a peace and happiness which he finds nowhere else in Europe. Having reported the impact on Czechoslovakia of Munich, he can say: "After the gloom of the autumn a visit to Spain would be tonic." A little later, "It was good to be in Spain again."

One cannot very well help asking what great difference, morally speaking, there is in this finding of happiness in the midst of slaughter and in the joy of Italian aviators at dropping bombs on Abyssinian villages. Maybe there is a difference, but it must surely be very elusive. At the most it is only this: that one man takes pleasure in killing, the other in being in a place where people are being killed.

Of course all this is easy to understand. We all of us find action a far more congenial condition than patient long-suffering. There are times when any of us would give a great deal to punch some objectionable person on the jaw. And we have a great many traditional sayings

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that justify all this. We say it is better to die fighting than to live a slave. Mr. Sheean says: "Horrible as that war and all wars might be, there was hope in a determined resistance and no hope in surrender." One cannot help remembering a certain man who once cut off a certain servant's ear.

For this is to yield in the name of humanity to exactly the same error as that to which fascism yields in the name of race, or nation. It is to let force be the final arbiter. One wonders whether it has ever occurred to Mr. Sheean that people were tortured and murdered in Russia, in government Spain fully as much as in Germany or Austria or nationalist Spain.

Apart from this primary slant or bias or prejudice—whatever you may call it—"Not Peace but a Sword" has some brilliant reporting in it. The account of Jim Lardner in Spain, his enlistment in the International Brigade and his death is a moving and even an inspiring thing, for it genuinely conveys the spirit of sacrifice of youth. The story of the argument in a Spanish café between a communist—who defends religious liberty and says he has a shrine of the Virgin alongside a portrait of Karl Marx—and the anarchist — who would destroy utterly both Marx's and the Virgin's influence—is a brilliant picture of two peculiar states of mind. For all this we may be very grateful to Mr. Sheean. For his general outlook we can have charity but not agreement.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Unions of Their Own Choosing, by Robert R. R. Brooks. New Haven: Yale University Press. $3.00.

IF THE ATTACKS against the National Labor Relations Board reveal anything, they show the ignorance and prejudice of the attackers. No one who has made a fair and sympathetic study of the place of the board in the American social scene could fail to acknowledge the work it is actually doing in preventing strikes and affording machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes. The board has made mistakes, but then who is so perfect as to be incapable of erroneous judgments? The board has played and continues to play an important rôle in building a free and more democratic America. Moreover if the board had greater investigatory and enforcing powers, there would be less anti-union and unfair labor practices in these United States. What the board should get is more and not less teeth.

In "Unions of Their Own Choosing" Professor Brooks gives an account of the board and its work. He takes up the charges that have been leveled against the board and examines them in relation to the record. He discusses the unfair labor practices of both labor and business, collective bargaining, the board and the courts, the board at work, industrial peace and interunion conflict. There are a great many misconceptions concerning the function of the board, its procedure and enforcing powers. First of all, its creation was not a radical departure from established American custom. On the contrary it was the fruit of a long tradition of governmental attempts to protect the right of workers to organize. Secondly, the board is only interested in making collective bargaining possible; and thirdly, the act is based upon the sound conviction that "the principle of collective bargaining must be effectively established in our present form of industrial society in order to protect the individual worker, to insure the stability of our economic life, and, in the long run, to provide the most satisfactory industrial relationship for the individual employer." The board's procedure is that common to all administrative, quasi-judicial bodies. It is the courts and not the board that enforce the board's orders. In order to get its orders enforced the board must show that its findings of fact and conclusions of law are supported by substantial evidence. No employer or union can justly claim that it is being persecuted by star chamber proceedings and denied a fair and full hearing by the board.

Professor Brooks has written an interesting book. Those who find the N.L.R.B.'s annual reports too difficult, should turn to this volume. It ought to be required reading for all those who have an interest in the betterment of employer-employee relationship in this country.

JOSEPH CALDERON.

HISTORY

A Cartoon History of Our Times, by David Low. With an introduction and text by Quincy Howe. New York: Simon and Schuster. $2.00.

DAVID LOW of the London *Evening Standard* is without question the greatest political cartoonist of the day. His work is already well known on this side of the Atlantic to readers of the New York *Times* and the *Nation,* but the publication here of a book of Low has been too long deferred. The present collection is culled from the two previous English collections, "Low's Political Parade" and "Low Again," with some twenty additions. Its hundred drawings deserve the title, for here is the history of our times outlined in the sharpest pen and bitterest ink.

Quincy Howe opens his introduction with the disarming remark that to attempt such a task is "to qualify for the presidency of the Lily Gilders' Union." For David Low's drawings speak for themselves, and when explanations are necessary, Low can write as well as draw. Of his great character, Colonel Blimp, who symbolizes the conservative Englishman, he has this to say: ". . . all social and political movements are plots to Blimp. Restlessness among the lower orders is always due to a plot hatched by a number of bearded persons ten thousand miles away. Behind every political change lies inevitably some company of hook-nosed crooks, of Free Masons, of Catholics, or of What Not, determined to reap advantage by fomenting trouble." And again, in confessing that no cartoonist could do justice to the actuality of this world of ours: "As the Boswell of Colonel Blimp, I, for instance, find that crass overstatement which I have employed successfully in the past for effect in argument evokes no longer the shock of discord, but rather sounds like an agreeable contribution, in the right key, to the thought of the time. The subtlety of irony is lost; sarcasm defeats itself. It seems not at all jeering or derisive to talk of how Franco upheld Christianity in Spain by importing Mohammedans to wipe out the devout Basques, or of how Japan restores civilization in China by reopening the opium dens closed by the dastardly Reds. . . . No rude noises are emitted from pursed lips at a remark that this Führer or that Duce has made democracy real at last by relieving the people of the trouble of choosing their representatives."

But Low has managed to impale this mad world on his pen, and Quincy Howe has arranged the drawings in chronological order and commented on Low's comments. In a decade when most people have shivered over the daily papers as the menacing voices of radio commentators brought still fresher tidings of woe beating upon their ear-

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drums, this documentations seems somewhat unnecessary. But the comments are helpful, and the chronological arrangement reveals Low as a major prophet, and one not without honor, strangely enough, in his adopted country. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr. Howe has seen fit almost to eliminate Colonel Blimp, who has his American counterparts, and the Hit & Muss dictator comic strip. MASON WADE.

Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1919, by W. C. Langsam. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.75.

TEACHERS and students of recent European history will find this collections of documents and readings of the utmost importance. The period covered is from Versailles to Munich, twenty crowded years of breathless change. The arrangement of the papers corresponds to the chief chapters in the author's well known text-book, "The World since 1914," but could be used with equal facility as a supplement to any good modern history. The collection is catholic in its content and includes the text of treaties and laws and legal decisions, reports, editorials, and contrasting expressions of national policies. Some of the documents challenge the mental powers of the student, others are of interest to the general reader, as, for example, the report on the administration of a mandate, and a speech of the Prince of Wales on methods of securing South American trade. Clear terse notes are given for each selection, and an adequate index completes the volume which will be found indispensable in small libraries, useful even in the largest. MOTHER MARY LAWRENCE, S.H.C.J.

The New Deal in Old Rome, by H. J. Haskell. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

MR. HASKELL, a mature newspaper man, writes very vividly of Roman history. His history is a kind of game of analogies, and must be taken, like even the most serious games, with a certain spirit of fun. So taken, it is instructive and leading, as well as interesting. He altogether eliminates the archaic haze behind which the ancient world is usually hidden, but this undoubtedly leaves the "modern" quality of Rome exaggerated. Also its grandeur is overemphasized: all in all, Rome was a pretty terrible place from more viewpoints than the author gives. "The City of God" gives a better picture of the whole, if not so contemporary and interesting a study of the economy. The lessons seems directed no more at Mr. Roosevelt than at any citizen, and we all should shudder. Mr. Haskell does not underplay the fall of Rome, and the darkness he attributes to the succeeding age is darkness indeed—happily, more intense than most historians would now paint it. P. B.

RELIGION

Heroes of the Cross, by Marion A. Habig. New York: Fortuny's. $2.00.

THIS IS a studious and compact study of the Franciscan martyrs in North America. Or rather, since the author does not wish to anticipate the judgment of the Church about the holiness of the early missionaries, it is an objective compilation of the available knowledge concerning the circumstances of death, and necessarily of life, of the 117 Franciscan heroes who died violently on our continent bringing Christianity to the Indians. It is an intelligent and clear record, whose moving quality derives completely from almost statistically stated facts.

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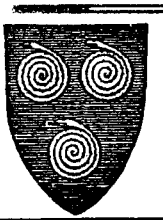

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The Inner Forum

AN ARTICLE of Dom Bede Winslow in a recent London *Tablet* gives an interesting report on relations between the Vatican and the Eastern Churches: "Quite recently, a number of incidents, small in themselves have demonstrated the increased friendliness. On the death of Pius XI, the Patriarch Benjamin sent a delegation, headed by Monsignor Adamandios, to the Apostolic Delegate at Istanbul, Monsignor Roncalli, to express condolences. The visit was duly returned and at the Requiem Mass for Pius XI the Patriarch was represented by M. Constantinides, his first interpreter. Monsignor Testa, the Secretary of the Apostolic Delegation who had returned the original call, then visited the Patriarch and invited him to the Te Deum for the accession of Pius XII, and the Orthodox Delegation which attended was treated with marked honors and given the place of honor. Pope Pius XII, through Cardinal Maglione, then instructed Monsignor Roncalli to pay a personal call on the Patriarch to convey the Pope's thanks. This is the first visit an Apostolic Delegate has paid to the Orthodox Patriarch since the Schism in the eleventh century. The Apostolic Delegate was most courteously received and the Patriarch expressed his hope for much better relations in the future."

Dom Bede goes on to describe the two movements within the Catholic world engaged in reunion work: "The one may be called 'Apostolic' and the other 'Eirenic.'

"The first is best represented by the way in which a number of religious of Western orders and nationalities are being trained in the theology and traditions of the Christian East and ordained as priests of the Byzantine rite (only a few have adopted other Oriental rites). . . .

"Again there is another aspect of the 'Apostolic' movement that should prove of very great importance to the Church, although it is only at present in the stage of mere beginnings: it is the missionary work of Catholics of Oriental rite among infidels or pagans. . . .

"The line taken by the followers of the 'Eirenic method' is the conciliatory attitude of a man who seeks the truth, towards another man or other men whom, rightly, he believes to be animated by the same dispositions as himself. This method, while it insists on an exhaustive study of the other side, at the same time forces the Catholic back into the fundamental principles of the Church, causing him to deepen his spiritual life and his study of tradition in the light of historical research."

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